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PEACE IS NOT TO BE HAD BY BEGGING,

PEACE IS WON THE HARD WAY

- USSR -

by L. Tolkunov



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## FOREWORD

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/Following is a translation of an article by L. Tolkunov in the Russian-language periodical Partiynaya Zhizn' (Party Life), Moscow, No. 10, May 1960, pages 31-38./

A two volume work has been published which is entitled "Peace Without Weapons -- Peace Without Wars"; it contains the remarks of N. S. Khrushchev on matters of the foreign policy of the USSR and on the international situation and interviews and talks with foreign figures which were published in the Soviet press during 1959.

The head of the Soviet government, N. S. Khrushchev, in 1959 had numerous meetings with many state and political figures from foreign countries; he visited many countries; he spoke at the United Nations; and he spoke with representatives of various social classes of capitalist countries. In all his remarks one can feel with exceptional force his striving to convey to hundreds of millions of people, the truth about the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and to show a genuine path for the attainment of the desired goal of mankind -- a lasting peace. A broad circle of topics are touched upon in the book; the discussion of these topics gives a complete picture of the struggle of the Soviet Union for lasting peace throughout the whole world and of the great ideas which are emblazoned on the standards of communist and workers' parties.

Comrade N. S. Khrushchev gives a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of the fundamental changes which have occurred in the international situation in recent years. In his speech on the international situation and on the foreign policy of the Soviet Union which was given at the third session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on 31 October 1959, he noted that the basic reason for the changes in recent time in the international situation "is the growth of the strength and international influence of the Soviet Union and of all the countries of the world system of socialism. It is the good fortune of mankind that in our time of great scientific discoveries and technical achievements, a socialist system has been created in the world and is developing rapidly. An

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inherent element of socialism is a striving for peace. The more rapidly the strength of the socialist countries grows, the greater will be the possibilities for the preservation and strengthening of peace." (Volume 2, page 345).

The foreign policy of the USSR is based on the Leninist course of peaceful coexistence. V. I. Lenin said: "The ending of wars, peace between peoples, and the cessation of plundering and of the attainment of ends by force constitute our ideal...." (Works, Volume 21, page 264). The Communist Party of the Soviet Union at its Twentieth and Twenty-First Congresses developed creatively the Leninist idea of peaceful coexistence which is appropriate for contemporary historical conditions. The enormous and truly titanic activity of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the struggle for peace between nations found brilliant expression in the speeches of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Comrade N. S. Khrushchev. Basing his remarks on the Leninist idea of peaceful coexistence, N. S. Khrushchev developed a purposeful movement in defense of peace. The peoples of all the countries of the world see in him a person who expresses the will of the Soviet people for peaceful coexistence and the leading role of communists in the struggle against the imperialist policy of attacks and threats.

"The purpose of our internal policy is singular and important," wrote N. S. Khrushchev in his answers to the editor of Pravda; "It is to bring about a life which will be worthy of the highest ideals of mankind. The goal of our foreign policy is singular and unchanging; it is to prevent war and to provide peace and security for our own country and for all countries." (Volume 1, page 237).

The Soviet Union, therefore, is conducting a course calling for peaceful coexistence of states with different social structures; it is holding the banner of peace high; and it is doing everything which it can in order to preserve and strengthen peace. Together with the Soviet Union, all the socialist countries, the workers and communist movement, all peace loving governments, and the democratic forces of peace are waging a persistent struggle for peace.

The speeches of N. S. Khrushchev and his intense and untiring activity demonstrate to the peoples of the world that socialism is manifesting its humanitarian mission -- saving mankind from destructive wars and confirming peace on earth -- with ever greater force. The head of the Soviet government, while passionately fighting for peace, has clearly shown the peoples of all continents that there are no differences between word and deed in the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and of other socialist countries; he has shown that our time can and must become

the time for the realization of great ideals and a time of progress and peace. The will and courage of hundreds of millions of people who are defying those who seek to persist in continuing the "cold war" are growing. They are becoming more and more convinced that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are the true standard bearers of peace and that they are conducting a foreign policy which answers the fundamental interests of the peoples of all countries and the interests of the progressive development of all mankind.

In the last 2 years alone, the Soviet government has advanced such important proposals as the proposals for the cessation of the testing of atomic weapons, for the creation of atomless zones, for the elimination of the remaining effects of World War II by concluding a peace treaty with Germany, for the convoking of a conference of heads of government in order to examine the most urgent international problems, for universal and complete disarmament, etc. The head of the Soviet government N. S. Khrushchev, visited the United States of America, the countries of Southeast Asia, France, etc.

The meeting of the heads of government of the four powers in Paris was to play an important role in further diminishing international tensions. Unfortunately, it did not fulfill this role because it was broken off as a result of the treacherous conduct of the ruling circles of the USA who on the eve of the conference had undertaken aggressive actions against the Soviet Union. The announcement which was made by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Comrade N. S. Khrushchev, at a preliminary meeting with the heads of the Western Powers on 16 May of this year is of great importance in understanding the principles of Soviet foreign policy and in order to give a proper orientation for all forces which are struggling for peace. It tears the mask from those who are trying to poison relations between governments; it calls upon the peoples to be vigilant; and it instills in them confidence that the forces of peace will defeat the forces of war. "We firmly believe," announced N. S. Khrushchev, "in the necessity of peaceful coexistence because to lose faith in peaceful coexistence would mean to doom mankind to war; it would mean agreement on the inevitability of war; and under present conditions we know what calamities war would bring to all peoples on earth."

"To live in peace as good neighbors or to plunge into a new war -- such is the choice which now faces the Soviet Union, the United States of America and the whole world. There is no third choice....," said N. S. Khrushchev to American businessmen. Only peaceful coexistence opens a real task for the development of relations between states with different social structures. Peaceful coexistence is the essential object which arises from

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the current situation in the world and from the present stage of development of human society. "Now the question is not," noted N. S. Khrushchev in a speech at a session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, "whether or not there should be peaceful coexistence; it is and it will be as long as we do not want the madness of a world nuclear-rocket war. The essence of the matter is to coexist on an intelligent basis." (Volume 2, page 347). In his speech at the Twenty-First Party Congress of the CPSU, N. S. Khrushchev remarked that we and the ruling circles of the capitalist countries have different views and a different world outlook. We will never reject our views nor buoy ourselves up with illusions that our class enemies will change their ideology; however, this does not mean that we must wage a war because of differences in our views. The only sure way which leads to the elimination of the "cold war" and to the development of friendly relations between states is the path of peaceful coexistence.

"We do not want to indicate to the Americans," remarked N. S. Khrushchev, "or any other peoples how they should live. The way of life is the inalienable right of the peoples themselves and only experience will show them which way of life is better and more viable, which will live and grow stronger, and which will die and pass into history." (Volume 1, page 238).

In his widely known article "On Peaceful Coexistence," N. S. Khrushchev wrote that peaceful coexistence can and must involve peaceful competition in the matter of best satisfying all the needs of man. We say to the leaders of the capitalist states: Let us test in practice whose system is better, let us compete without war. This is much better than to compete to see who will accumulate the most weapons and who will defeat whom. We can argue; we need not agree with each other; however, it is most important that this remain a struggle of ideologies without putting into motion one's weapons when insisting on one's position.

In the speeches which are published in the work "Peace Without Weapons -- Peace Without Wars," the idea of the possibility of forever excluding war from the life of society finds further development. N. S. Khrushchev indicates that the new distribution of international strength which developed after the Second World War gives reason to assert that now there is no fatal inevitability of a Third World War and that it can be prevented. This was a result, first, of the fact that in our time not only all the socialist governments but also many governments of Asia and Africa which are on the road to the development of independent national state policy and many other governments which have not entered into aggressive blocs are fighting actively for peace; second, the policy of peace is encountering powerful support from the broad popular masses throughout the whole world; third, the

peace loving socialist states have very impressive material means which cannot but have a restraining influence on aggressors. In the future, the material might and moral influence of the peace loving states will be so great that any war-like militarist will have to think ten times before embarking on war.

In order to provide for peaceful coexistence, it is necessary, first of all, to eliminate the "cold war." The "cold war" is extremely dangerous because it is taking place under conditions of an unrestrained armament race which growing like a snowball increases suspiciousness and mistrust of states toward each other.

In his speech before the United Nations, N. S. Khrushchev noted that the elimination of the residue of the Second World War, the mutual development of contacts between peoples, the practice of mutual visits between state officials and representatives of political, business and social circles and the development of international economic, cultural and scientific-technical cooperation will all help in the elimination of the "cold war" and will lead to a sharp improvement in international relations. In this speech he unveiled a remarkable program for universal and complete disarmament. He remarked that the world is at a point where due to some absurd incident such as damage to the controls of an airplane which is carrying a hydrogen bomb or due to some mental aberration affecting the pilot of a plane, war could become a reality. We have now reached a point where it is difficult to imagine a more powerful weapon than the hydrogen bomb which is practically limitless in its power. If we were to place together all the means of destruction which human society has ever possessed in the past, the power of these weapons would only be an insignificant fraction of that which the two or three great powers which have atomic weapons now possess. A war in which nuclear weapons would be used would lead to the death of hundreds of millions of people. This would be a war where there would be no difference between the front lines and the rear, between soldiers and children. As a result many large cities and industrial centers would be transformed into ruins. Treasured monuments of culture which had been created throughout the centuries through the efforts of human genius would be destroyed forever. This war would also not spare future generations; for a long time its poisonous imprint in the form of radioactive contamination would cripple people and cost many lives. Each year now governments are spending about 100 billion dollars in preparation for war. This is a senseless expenditure of enormous means.

The Soviet government offered for inspection by the Organization of the United Nations an extensive program for universal and complete disarmament. The essence of the Soviet proposals is that over the course of 4 years all governments would accomplish complete disarmament and would no longer possess the means of

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conducting war. In selecting a vivid example, N. S. Khrushchev remarked at the UN that by accomplishing complete disarmament, mankind would experience a feeling such as envelops a person when, after being near exhaustion and tortured with fear from the threat of death from thirst and exhaustion in a desert, he finally after long wandering reaches an oasis. Universal and complete disarmament would make it possible to shift enormous material and financial means from the production of weapons of death to constructive ends such as the building of schools, hospitals and homes and the production of foodstuffs and industrial products. Universal and complete disarmament would also create completely new possibilities for rendering aid to governments whose economies are at the present time weakly developed and which need assistance from the more developed countries.

N. S. Khrushchev announced: "We speak sincerely to all countries: in contrast to the slogan 'Let us arm!' which is still employed in some places, we propose the slogan 'Let us disarm completely!' Let us compete more to see who will build the most homes, schools and hospitals for their people and who will produce the most bread, milk, meat, clothing and other consumer goods and not to see who will have the most hydrogen bombs and rockets. This would be welcomed by all people on earth." (Volume 2, page 163).

The program of universal and complete disarmament which was advanced by the Soviet government found warm support from the people. The idea of universal and complete disarmament won the unanimous approval of the session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. In his further speeches N. S. Khrushchev unmasked the attempts of the Western Powers to circumvent the question of disarmament and to substitute for it the question of control. He noted that the Soviet Union will defend its position to the end in order to obtain a solution to the problem of disarmament. Disarmament is the basic question and the answer to this question affects the elimination of the danger of the "cold war." We are for strict control over the conditions of disarmament and are against control without disarmament. The Soviet Union holds this position and will never retreat from it.

The German question occupies an important place in the speeches of N. S. Khrushchev. This is not an accident. Twice during the first half of the 20th Century, German imperialism has sparked a world war. Now with the help of the monopolists of the USA, England and the other participants in the aggressive North Atlantic Pact, West Germany is being transformed into the main atomic and rocket base of NATO. In this aggressive bloc West Germany is already now beginning to play an important role. N. S. Khrushchev pointed out at the Twenty-First Congress of the CPSU that a situation is developing where German imperialism could for

a third time plunge mankind into a world war. The Federal Republic of Germany is one of those countries where the ruling circles favor a continuation of the "cold war" and are for the so-called policy of operating from a "position of strength."

The leaders of West Germany are clearly not in favor of a policy which might improve the international climate. They are trying by every means to aggravate the situation especially with respect to their efforts to preserve the abnormal situation in West Berlin. The Soviet government advanced its own well-publicized proposals on the German question and on the question of West Berlin; they touch deeply not only the national interests of the German people but also the interests of all peoples which desire to establish a lasting peace in Europe. West Berlin has now become one of the most dangerous points of disagreement between the two mighty groups of powers. Its role in the relations of the powers can only be compared with a smoldering fuse leading to a powder keg. The only method of correctly solving this problem is to sign a peace treaty with Germany. N. S. Khrushchev has said many times that the Soviet Union will not force a solution to the problem of West Berlin in any period of time; there will be no deadlines or ultimatums; however, there will be no weakening in our efforts to obtain an agreement with our allies. If we try all the possibilities and they do not produce the desired results, the Soviet Union will have no other choice except to sign a peace treaty with whichever of the two German governments desires to do so.

The Berlin problem is intimately related to the German problem and the Soviet Union proposes to solve the Berlin problem in connection with the German problem. The Soviet Union is for the reunification of Germany; however, Adenauer does not want this. Actually he ignores the desire of the German people for reunification; for his demagogic purposes he advances the slogans of the reunification of Germany on the basis of so-called "free elections." The position of the Soviet Union is to facilitate the reunification of Germany; however, this is the affair of the German people themselves and is to be accomplished through their own efforts.

N. S. Khrushchev uncovers the true reason for the support by the Western Powers of the revanchist forces of Germany. These reasons involve launching German militarism on a new campaign against the socialist countries. The Western Powers with their provocative aims threaten that in the event of the signing of a peace treaty with the GDR they will force their way into West Berlin. "Only people who do not consider the real facts can think in such a way," said N. S. Khrushchev in his speech in Tula. "After all it is known that Soviet troops are stationed in the GDR. They are not there to play games. They try to frighten us by saying that they will start to shoot if we block their way.

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Everyone, however, realizes that if someone starts to shoot it will be the beginning of war. We advise everyone who is trying to brandish weapons: if you are nervous, take a cold shower and calm your nerves." (Volume 1, page 83).

In persistently seeking an improvement in international relations, the socialist countries are unwaveringly conducting their own peace loving course and are not yielding to the threats from aggressive forces. N. S. Khrushchev in his speech at the "Gants-Mavag" plant in Budapest in December 1959 said that it is getting hotter each day for the imperialists. He noted in his speech that the international situation of the socialist countries depends mainly on their internal situation. If our internal situation is good, this will create for the socialist countries a good international position.

N. S. Khrushchev in his speeches examines in detail and from every aspect the problem of the development of the socialist system and the strengthening of the friendship and cooperation of the peoples of the socialist countries. In his speech at the Twenty-First Congress of the CPSU he devoted a special section to problems of the further strengthening of the world socialist system. In this section he examined the basic problems of the economic competition of socialism versus capitalism and the features of the economic development of socialist countries. N. S. Khrushchev noted that a characteristic of the economic development of socialist countries is that, as they advance, their mutual ties are strengthened and the world socialist system becomes more united. A directly opposite tendency reigns in the capitalist world where an increase in production in a given country causes a deepening of the contradictions between capitalist countries and an intensification of the competitive struggle and mutual clashes. The growth and development of each socialist country leads to a strengthening of the entire world socialist system.

The peoples of the socialist countries are tied together by brotherly friendship and continuously render each other aid and support. "Between the sovereign countries of the socialist camp," remarked N. S. Khrushchev in his speech at the Ninth All-German Workers' Conference in Leipzig, "there is developing broad cooperation in all fields of economic, social-political and cultural life. If we speak of the future, it seems to me that the further development of the socialist countries in all probability will be along the line of strengthening the unified world system of socialist economies. One after another the economic barriers which divided our countries under capitalism will be removed. The common economic base of world socialism will be strengthened...." (Volume 1, page 182).

A modern internationalist, N. S. Khrushchev always emphasizes that the friendship of the socialist countries is a guarantee

of future successes and victories and that as long as this friendship grows and is strengthened, no enemies will frighten us. The friendship of the peoples of the countries of socialism is a lasting guarantee of a strong peace throughout the whole world.

In his speeches in the Chinese People's Republic, in Poland, in the GDR, in Albania and in Hungary, N. S. Khrushchev noted that the friendship of socialist countries must be valued, developed and strengthened. In the same speeches of N. S. Khrushchev there is strong criticism and unmasking of the attempts of revisionists to undermine the friendship of the peoples of the socialist countries. In his speech at the Twenty-First Congress of the CPSU, he showed that the essence of the deviations of the Yugoslav leaders from Marxism-Leninism lies in the fact that the Yugoslav revisionists deny the necessity for international class solidarity and retreat from the positions of the working class as they sit on their two chairs. The Marxist-Leninist parties observe with alarm that which is taking place in Yugoslavia. The policy of the Yugoslav leaders which is directed at placing Yugoslavia in opposition to the socialist camp and the international communist movement can lead to the loss of the socialist victories of the Yugoslav people.

It is necessary to consider, says N. S. Khrushchev, that the class enemy will not always now make a frontal attack. Under present conditions he will most often try to outflank us or will often try to penetrate within using various kinds of opportunists, revisionists and other lackeys of capitalism. Therefore, it is necessary to be able to recognize the real communists who are standing on the class positions and are struggling for the interests of the workers and to be able to recognize those who only call themselves communists or socialists but are actually scouts of the class enemy who are seeking to enter the ranks of the working class and corrupt it from within.

The ideas of the friendship of peoples and their joint struggle for peace are woven throughout all the speeches of N. S. Khrushchev. He speaks decisively in defense of the peoples of the Orient and against colonialism; he warmly welcomes the rapid change in the political face of large areas of the world, the formation of new independent governments, and the fall of the last bastions of the outmoded colonial system.

Comrade N. S. Khrushchev believes profoundly in the strength of the peoples and in their ability to check the instigators of war; he warmly supports any peaceable undertaking by various organizations and leaders of different political views and any initiative which is directed at lessening international tension. The struggle of the popular masses is the main condition for preventing war. The strength of the masses is growing as they act against the danger of an outbreak of war; with each year the

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influence of the peoples and of world public opinion on the policies of government and on the entire course of development of international events is increased. In his speech at a session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR he said: "If all the forces which stand for the peaceful settlement of international problems go into action, if the ruling circles which determine the policy of the countries of the West still understand the impossibility of conducting another policy in our time other than the policy of peaceful co-existence and if the people will give a firm pledge against war, in the near future decisive steps will be taken to eliminate the military threat and a clear bright path to peace will be opened for all of mankind." (Volume 2, page 376).

People do not wait for peace; they struggle for peace. Only by a stubborn struggle against the threat of war can we guarantee a lasting peace on earth. N. S. Khrushchev calls upon the people to be alert and watchful for all forces and circles which are seeking to change the course of international events back onto the path of "cold war." In the West there are many such forces. War is advantageous for them; they have not rejected their plots. In their hands are concentrated considerable material forces and military and political levers; no one has any assurance that some tragic day they will not try to put these forces into action. This is even more reason why it is necessary to continue an active struggle so that the policy of peaceful co-existence will reign throughout the world not just in words but rather in deeds.

In untiringly showing the people the groundlessness, harm and pernicious effect of the policy of the war-like militarist circles, N. S. Khrushchev at the same time has called for a campaign against underestimating the threat of war so that there will be great vigilance with respect to the intrigues of the aggressive imperialist forces. He ridicules those people who feel that because there is not the fatal inevitability of war, that it is possible to rest on one's laurels and to fold one's arms and bask in the sun while hoping that wars are gone forever. It must not be forgotten that in contrast to the natural change of the seasons, the international weather does not change by itself. In order to have clear and consistent weather in relations between states, it is necessary to have systematically active and peaceable deeds from all governments and especially from the peoples which must arouse their governments to act in the name of peace.

N. S. Khrushchev is properly defending the interests of the Soviet country and of Marxist-Leninist ideology. An example of this is the publication in the second volume of his numerous remarks made during his visit in the USA. He spoke boldly and openly there of the goals of communism, unmasked the champions of the "cold war" and dispersed the anti-Soviet cloud. These speeches

of N. S. Khrushchev can serve as a model of an uncompromising ideological struggle by communists and of a defense of Marxist-Leninist views. Some circles in the USA tried to distort the Marxist-Leninist concept of the problem of peaceful coexistence and to frighten the people with communism. N. S. Khrushchev unmasked these attempts and exposed the true purpose of the monopolistic circles in trying to frighten the popular masses with the threat of communism. In one of his speeches he announced: "I speak openly in order that you might know with whom you are concerned; such clarity improves relations; we like socialism, but capitalism does not suit us. If you like capitalism -- and I know that you like it -- do so with god! But remember: a new social system has been born -- it is the socialist system. It is already at your heels and we expect soon to catch up with you and to surpass you." (Volume 2, page 123).

The conversation of N. S. Khrushchev with leaders of American trade unions can serve as an example of a bold defense of Marxism-Leninism and of how to unmask the arguments of bourgeoisie propaganda. When one of these leaders, W. Reuther, exclaimed, "You are exploiting the people of East Germany!" N. S. Khrushchev quietly said: "Where did you dream up that? Be calm, you are shaking with fever. Who gave you a mandate to speak in the name of the German people? Why are you always trying to speak for other peoples? You have been spoiled because many countries depend on the United States and have been forced to seek aid from you. The socialist countries, however, are standing firmly on their own feet. We do not remove our hats in front of you. The Soviet ruble has not, does not, and will not bow before the dollar." (Volume 2, page 210).

N. S. Khrushchev constantly remarks that coexistence is a continuation of the struggle between two social systems but that it is a struggle by peaceful means without war and that it is not necessary to be afraid of the struggle. He himself by all his intense activity has shown us an example of this struggle for our way of life and for the great socialist system.

The Fifth Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in May of this year, the speech and closing remarks of N. S. Khrushchev at the session, and the speeches of the deputies showed the firm intention of the Soviet government and of our whole nation to intercept decisively any provocations by the imperialists which might be directed against the security of the socialist countries and toward increasing international tension. "We desire peace," said N. S. Khrushchev in his speech at the session. "But to strive for peace does not mean to beg for peace. Peace must be won. Peace can be won by labor, by increasing the power of our country, by creating newer and more dependable weapons, by improving our economy, by developing science and technology, by developing more new machines...."

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The Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp are in the flower of their strength. These great forces are a guarantee of a lasting peace on earth.

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